COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"It was upon account of the turn which the Catholic Question took, the success of which I conceive "to be essentially necessary, to the strength, prosperity, and unanimity of the United Kingdoms, that I felt "myself bound, in *conscience* and in *honour*, to give in my resignation. The early discussion and decision of "that question were incumbent upon those, who, under the circumstances of the union, which they were "so auspicious to effectuate, considered it as a measure of the utmost importance to the strength and tran- "quillity of the empire. So strong is my conviction of the propriety and necessity of that measure, that "*I could not continue to remain a member of that government* which deemed it inexpedient to entertain it."—— MR. PITT'S Speech in the House of Commons; 16th Feb. 1801.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.

SIR,——In consequence of the perusal of the extract from the report of the Committee of the Assembly of Jamaica, inserted in a late number of your Register, I have procured a copy of the report, which I have read with much attention.——The topics of this very important document may be divided into two heads.——1st. The necessity of the continuance of the slave trade, the falsehood of the assertions made in this country respecting it, and the mischievous tendency of the repeated agitation of the question, and of the language used in its discussion.——2d. The hardships which the West Indian colonists actually suffer, and the ruin which they must justly apprehend, from the recent conduct of the mother-country.——On the first head, I shall confine myself to a single observation. One of the points on which the abolitionists and antiabolitionists are at issue, is the possibility of supporting the slave-population without fresh importations. I shall not enter into any of the allegations or arguments employed on either side, but simply state, that we now have in our power the means of ascertaining how the fact really is. For this purpose we should only prohibit the importation of negroes into the conquered settlements; in doing which, we shall satisfactorily make the experiment, without detriment to our own colonies, and without subjecting ourselves to any imputation of breach of faith. See this briefly but strongly recommended on other grounds in your Register, Vol. VI. p. 815, 816, and in your last number p. 373. The second head consists of many particulars.——1. Diminution of the inequality in the custom duties on importation of West India, and on that of East India, sugar.——2. Raising the customs on West India sugar to an intolerable height.——3. Fixing a maximum on the price of sugar, too low in itself, and unaccompanied with countervailing provisions, to prevent its being too much depreciated.——4. Raising the duties on rum to such a height, as has almost annihilated the consumption of it.——1. As to the first point after Great Britain had acquired dominion in the East, either in order to protect those of her subjects, who had been encouraged by her to employ their capital in the culture of sugar in the West Indies, she subjected the importation of that article from any part of her new acquisitions, to a duty of £37. 16s. 3d. on every £100 of gross sales; equal, I believe, to about 19s. per cwt., at the same time that the duty on sugar imported from her old colonies was only 6s. 4d. per cwt. Under these circumstances, it will be seen that the former was to the latter, as three to one. Since that period, the mother-country has thought fit by successive augmentations, to raise the duty on the produce of her old sugar colonies to 26s. 6d. per cwt., and to lower (actually to lower it, for, at the present prices of East India sugars, £37. 16s. 3d. on £100 of gross sales, would be about 30s. 4d. per cwt.) the duty on the produce of her new acquisitions, to 29s. 1d. per cwt. so that now the duties, instead of being in the proportion of three to one, are in the proportion of somewhat less than eleven to ten. ——2. As to the second point, from what I have already stated, it will appear, that the customs on West India sugar have been raised from 6s. 4d. per cwt., to 26s. 6d. per cwt.; that is, that they have been more than multiplied fourfold. Mark the effect. The quantity retained for consumption in Great Britain, was in

		Duty
1801....	2,753,445 cwt.	2,395,251
1802....	2,249,772	2,180,220
1803....	1,430,417	1,134,587

3. As to the third point. The former system of Great Britain was this. By the navigation acts her West Indian colonists was compelled to send all the sugar, which they produced, in British vessels to some British port. To this restriction the colonists cheerfully submitted; because, although by no means unattended with expense and commercial inconvenience to them, it contributed most essentially to support and to improve the naval strength of

the empire; the source of our national wealth; the bulwark of our national independence. The mother-country was sensible that by this restriction a sacrifice of the pecuniary interests of the colonists was made to a great national advantage; and she was not desirous to aggravate that sacrifice. She expressed herself thus. "It is true, that by this and the other regulations of our navigation acts, the expense of your cultivation is much increased, the means of sending your produce to foreign markets is rendered tedious, difficult, and costly; and we are enabled to purchase it at a less price, than we must of necessity pay you, if you were not compelled to bring the whole of it through our market.—To the weight of this necessary burthen we will not add any needless extortion, or wantonness of oppression. Whatever duties we impose on the importation of your sugar, we draw back on its re-exportation; being well aware that the cost of a double voyage, of landing, warehousing, and re-shipping, with the interest on the duties while the article remains in this country, clog you sufficiently in your competition in foreign markets." But now, whenever the average price of sugar exceeds in the British market 58s per cwt. exclusive of duty, (without any distinction as to peace or war, though in those different circumstances, the charges of freight and insurance differ to the extent of £100 per cwt., and other charges, perhaps little less; the folly of the measure is, if possible, equal to its injustice and cruelty!) the drawback is to be gradually reduced, till at a higher price, it is altogether taken away. Under this regulation no ordinary failure of crops can raise the price in a degree worth notice above these 58s., so that in the first place, while from the circumstances of the world the price of every other article is, (particularly those required for West Indian cultivation) from the depreciation of money and paper, augmented every day, and every hour, the grower of sugar is alone to be prohibited from supporting the real, by raising the nominal price of his commodity, from indemnifying himself against his increased expenditure of every kind, and from continuing in that rank of society, in which he was born, was educated, and has hitherto lived: and, in the second place, as often as by a failure of crops the quantity of sugar sent to Europe shall but scantily supply the demand, foreign and domestic, the planter is made to feel, that he alone is to be forbidden to indemnify himself against a diminished production, by an increased price; that he alone is to be prevented from availing himself of a fundamental law of God and nature, to alleviate his sufferings, that he alone is doomed, and doomed by the unnatural interference of his parents, in circumstances of affliction and distress, instead of receiving commiseration and assistance, to see the only door of relief closed against him, and to find his poverty converted into want, his distress aggravated into ruin. 4. On the fourth point, the papers last year inserted in your Register respecting rum, have anticipated much, which might be said. Col. Henderson's statements prove, that rum was in consequence of the high duties rendered altogether valueless to the importer. His was no singular case. A friend of mine twice in the last year, solicited his merchants to pay for him the freight, insurance, duties, and landing charges of a shipment of rum, and to accept the rum in exchange.—He was content to lose the cost of the casks, of the distillery, and of shipping. He twice solicited this: but, he solicited in vain. After stating such facts, the smallest degree of amplification would be disgustingly redundant. The report before me, after noticing that there is every appearance that rum may be altogether driven from the British market, justly adds, that should this once be realised, the introduction of that spirit into general use may become impossible; and, instances in the cases of cocoa and indigo, which were at one time (as may be seen more particularly in the 2d Volume of Bryan Edwards's History of the West Indies) very extensively cultivated in Jamaica, and yielded much wealth to the colony, and, consequently, to the parent state; but which by heavy duties were absolutely extirpated. "Two and two," says Swift, "in the arithmetic of the Custom House "make not always four." So far from it, they often verify the old Greek paradox, that *the half is greater than the whole.* I know not what has been the produce of the duties on rum during the last year, but, I strongly suspect it would confirm this theory.——It is mortifying and humiliating, mortifying to him who pleads, and humiliating to those whom he addresses, to be compelled to enforce the plain incontestible dictates of justice, by appeals to interest and policy: but, surely, at the same time that justice commands us not to impose on the article in question, such duties as are ruinous to the producer, policy also requires us to take care, that the duties be not so high as to deprive it of its share in the consumption of the country. What are the

competitors of rum? The gin of Holland, the brandies of France, and other southern nations; and our own home made spirits. Nobody, surely, will for a moment contend, that policy would direct us to give a preference to either of the former articles Why then are not the duties on them so much augmented, as to leave rum (subject as it is to a heavier freight, insurance, and other charges) a decided advantage in the market? And why, when the victualling officer advertises for spirits, are they expressed in the alternative *rum or brandy?* Is this decent, at a time, when the price of the former, produced by our own subjects, is so low, that it would have been the interest of the producer, rather to have poured it into the ocean, than to have casked it for shipment to this country? As to home made spirits, I wish not to do injustice to any persons concerned in them; to the landholder, or the distiller. Let us, however, recollect, that the sugar planter also is our child, though less under our immediate observation, than these his more favoured brethren; that justice is due to him also: and, let it not wholly escape our consideration, whether the consumption of corn spirits may not be too extensive, in a country which on an average imports annually 800,000 quarters of foreign wheat, and in which the quartern loaf now sells for 16d. If the present ruinous discouragement of rum may not be removed by diminution of the heavy duties to which it is subjected, at least the evil should be mitigated, by augmenting the imposts on the rival spirits.——X. X.——*March* 14, 1805.

INEQUALITY OF THE INCOME TAX.

SIR,——I cannot resist making to you a few remarks on the Income or Property Tax.——A. has £20,000 lent out which yields him of yearly income £1000, or he has a landed estate which yields him that income, and he has nothing more.——B. has from his labour or profession £1000 per annum, and he has nothing more.——A. for his £20,000 pays of property tax £50 per annum.——B. for his £1000 pays of property tax £50 per annum.——Consequently A. pays only one four hundredth part, while B. pays one twentieth part of his property, or, in other words, by the income or property tax, for every pound that A. pays, B. pays twenty pounds. To make the tax equal, if it is thought by the legislature, that one twentieth, or five per cent. of the *yearly revenue* of each person, is as much as ought to be paid, B's £1000 is his *estate or capital*, which, leaving it entire like all the others, would yield him £50 per annum, out of which he should pay of property or income tax £2. 10s. per annum, being 5 per cent. or the twentieth part. This would be as much as is paid by the first peer of the realm. Any other than this last, is partial and unjust. Our present great financier plumes himself on his having established, *happily established*, he says, an income or property tax. By this he must mean that he has got established what he did not expect, namely, the industrious part of the community quietly and peaceably to sit under and pay one twentieth of *their whole estate*, or property, while he leaves entire and untouched to the opulent, their whole estates and properties, and takes from them only one twentieth of *their annual rents*. Is not such language an insult to common sense? This great financier may flatter himself that he has *happily* brought the inhabitants of this country, who earn by their labour £60 and upwards, to pay this tax without murmur. If he does he is woefully mistaken. Pay, no doubt, they do, and submit to the exposure of their most private concerns; but they do all this with many deep drawn sighs. This tax was first imposed under the name of a *war tax*, which certainly conveyed the idea that it was a tax to cease with the war; but, did not this great man pledge this same tax for an immense sum (fifty-six millions, I believe) which would have made it a burden during eleven years of peace?——For the honour of our country, however, it is to be hoped, that, if this law must be continued, it will be made equal, and just; and that it will make the man who earns £60 or £200 a year, pay no greater proportion than the richest peers or wealthiest stockholders pay out of their princely fortunes. Even out of the annual produce of these princely fortunes, numerous deductions are allowed before stricking the tax, while not a single allowance is made to those who acquire their incomes annually by their labour, but the tax taken from the full amount.——It is of little importance who first suggested this tax. Those who adopted it had the glory of setting so noble an engine to work. Was it not first adopted in France during the revolution; and has our great financier not adopted many more of their pious acts. He boasts of having avoided taxing the poor. During his administration, I maintain, that more and heavier burdens have been laid on them than there was for a hundred years before. Did not he lay on the tax on houses of the rent of five pounds and under? Is he not now endeavouring even to

abridge their use of the only savory article they are now able to indulge in; namely, that indispensible necessary salt?——I beg, Sir, you will excuse this tedious scrawl, and believe, that it is my admiration of your unremitting zeal that induced me to trouble you on this subject; which I am decidedly of opinion is one, that materially affects our national character and honour. I am, &c.——C.——*Edinburgh, March 9, 1805.*

ON THE SOURCE OF TAXES.

SIR,——In consequence of your assertion, that all taxes fall upon labour, I am disposed to trouble you with an observation or two, which, I think, will show that the assertion is not so completely just as you have conceived it. So far as industry or mechanism produce profit; so far as navigation or commerce are profitable, the assertion is undoubtedly just; but, inasmuch, as speculations upon capital, inasmuch as landed property (the substances upon which labour is employed) or any such like matters are profitable, so far labour is not the only subject upon which taxes attach. In the case of land, it is obvious that by some sorts of cultivation the profit is greater, in comparison to the labour, than by others; and, inasmuch as such profits are subjected to taxes without producing an advance in rents, by so much is a tax light on the labouring classes. The mistake, (if such there is) seems to arise from this; that in almost every (if not every) case, labour makes an ingredient in the value of every thing; but, as there exist subjects in themselves valuable, the true question seems to be, how far those subjects can be taxed (for instance, income from land, from capital of all sorts, from speculations in which capital and labour are conjointly employed in producing profit, &c.) without causing a proportional advance either in the price of commodities, or in the rents of land.——I wish merely to hint at these matters, that if they seem to you to be only exceptions to the general rule, you may state them so, should you again allude to the subject. I am, Sir, your constant reader.——C. S.——*London, March 10, 1805.*

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL ALLIANCES.——It is stated, that our treaties of alliance with Russia and Sweden are now concluded, and will be shortly ratified. The letter of Napoleon to his Majesty appears to have been sent hither at the same time that he sent another, of similar purport, to the Emperor Alexander, who, we are informed, through the foreign journals, returned an answer nearly resembling that which was given by our cabinet. If this be so, we shall very soon have correct copies of the letters sent us through the Moniteur, together with the comments of the French government thereon.——Very little is, as yet, said about the intentions of Austria. The hopes of gaining that power to the alliance, which hope appeared to be very sanguine some time ago, appears to have considerably diminished in London, while, at Paris, they confidently talk of an approaching interview between the Emperors of France and of Austria.—Prussia is said to have threatened to march an army into Swedish Pomerania, if Sweden enter into a warlike alliance with Great Britain; and, lest this threat should be executed, Russia is said to have prepared to march an army to the protection of that Duchy. Should this be true, the outset of the war must afford us a most lively hope of its having a tendency to annoy, and to check the encroachments of, our enemy on the other side of the Channel! An army to protect Pomerania must give great assistance to England!—Without the accession of Austria and Prussia, or one of them, nothing effectual can be done against France. This has already been said a thousand times; but, amongst a people who are willing to believe every thing that any minister, be he who or what he may, wishes them to believe, it never can be said too often; for, though you will not convince them that they ought not to believe him, it is right that they should be continually reminded that you are not one of those who are deceiving them.——Of the disposition of our own cabinet with respect to Napoleon we may form some judgment from the very curious alteration and omission that have recently been made in the *particular prayer*, used in the Church, ever since the threat of invasion began, instead of the usual prayer in time of war and tumults. I will here insert it as it stood at first, distinguishing by *Italick characters* the words which are *now omitted*, begging the reader's attention to those words. "O, "Almighty God, maker of the Universe, "and sovereign disposer of the affairs of "men, at whose command nations and "empires rise and fall, flourish and decay; "we thine unworthy servants most humbly implore thy gracious aid and protection. We flee unto thee for succour, in "this time of peril and necessity, when, in "defence of our liberty, our laws, and our "religion, we are exposed to the dangers

" and calamities of war, and threatened " with invasion by *a fierce and haughty foe*, " *who would swallow us up quick, so wrathfully* " *is he displeased at us; for that we alone among* " *the nations are found to withstand his violent* " *and unjust ambition.* Vouchsafe, we be- " seech thee, thine especial blessing and " protection to our most gracious Sove- " reign *Lord, King George. Go forth with his* " *fleets and armies; and let thy mighty arm be* " *with his chiefs and captains, as it was of old* " *with thy servants, Judas, and Jonathan, and* " *Simon, when they valiantly withstood the wicked* " *tyrants of their times, the enemies of thy truth,* " *and the oppressors of thy people.* Direct his " counsels, prosper all his measures for the " welfare of this kingdom, and the preser- " vation of our church, and of our civil con- " stitution. And let no internal divisions, " nor any other sins and provocations of " this nation, obstruct his designs for the " public good, nor bring down thy judg- " ments upon us. But spare thy people, " O Lord, spare them; and, by thy grace, " so unite us in a spirit of obedience to thy " law, zeal for thy truth, and loyalty to " thine anointed servant, whom thy good " providence has set over us, that we may " evermore rejoice in thy salvation, through " thy son Jesus Christ our Lord."——All the words distinguished by Italicks, and no others are now left out, and no others are put in the room of them, except that, instead of "*a fierce and haughty foe*," we are now taught to pray for protection against " an *inveterate enemy*." Whether our danger be thought to be diminished; whether Napoleon's recent conduct has rendered the epithets " fierce" and " haughty" no longer applicable to him; whether it be now regarded contrary to his intention, or out of his power, to swallow us up quickly, or, as some have understood it, alive; whether his wrath be thought to be, in some degree, assuaged; whether we are not now " alone" withstanding his violent and unjust ambition, Russia and Sweden having joined therein: these are questions which few persons, perhaps, could answer; but, it must afford us satisfaction to know, that, " under existing circumstances," our rulers do not think it necessary that we should pray in so desponding a tone, and in such a style as they appointed for us to pray in some sixteen months ago. ——Our famous expedition is still the subject of *talk*. But, the ministerial papers say, that it is not intended to act with our allies upon the continent. " Some *distant posses-* " *sion* of the enemy is its object," say they. What distant possession of the enemy may be in view I know not; but, I am thoroughly persuaded, that the minister who should, at this time, advise the sending of any considerable part of our small army to the attack of a *distant* possession of the enemy, would deserve very severe censure indeed. ——" What, then, is to become of us?" A question which, conditionally, may be easily answered. To attempt to prescribe bounds to the powers of Providence would be impious; but, on the other hand, it would be excessively foolish to hope, that, in our particular case alone, causes will not produce their natural effects. A great change must take place, either in the power of France considered relatively to that of this country, or in our capacity for making and continuing in war. *First*, we must now join with other states, and reduce the power of France in such a degree as to be able to look with confidence for safety in peace; or, *Second*, supposing Mr. Pitt to be unable to effect such a co-operation, it must be effected by some other minister; or, *Third*, if no other minister could effect it (and it is very likely that none could) we must place ourselves in a situation to be able to form and to execute *a permanent plan of warfare*; and, it has always appeared to me, that this latter is not to be done without a radical change in our financial system. Without reducing the relative power of France, or, making a change at home that will enable us to look without dread at her present relative power: without one of these, *peace*, will bring us no rest, no tranquillity. Napoleon would readily make peace; and, upon terms, too, that many persons would think reasonable. He would require only, that we should give up Malta, surrender the colonies we have taken, and pay the amount of the prizes we have made from France and her allies. Upon these terms we might have peace to-morrow. But, of what avail would it be, while Napoleon knows, that our internal situation affords him the means of harassing us in peace, as effectually, and, perhaps, more effectually, than in war? Suppose peace concluded, and that a month's fair prospect has raised the funds to 70. An angry word from Napoleon, spoken to our Embassador at the levee, brings them down to 60. Instantly the French agents buy. The next post informs us, that Napoleon was only put out of humour by the tooth-ache; that the most amicable explanations have taken place, and that now nothing is talked of at St. Cloud, but " the *two* great nations, France and " England." Up go the funds to 70. The French agents sell. Their profit may easily be made to amount to two or three hundred thousand pounds; and this sum they can im-

mediately take out of the country, either in gold, silver, or merchandise. But, some one will say: "is not this an imaginary evil? "Why has it never existed before?" To this last question I answer, that it did exist, and was most severely felt during the last short-lived peace; and, the reader may be assured, that this was amongst the most powerful of those reasons, which led our ministers, towards the close, rather to wish for a rupture than otherwise. Mr. Addington's statement (made in words formerly applied to a similar purpose by Mr. Windham) that "we were "at war *because we could not be at peace*," was perfectly correct; and, if peace were now made, can any one doubt, that a very few months would furnish grounds for another statement to the same effect? If I am asked, why the kings of France did not make use of the same means of embarrassing us in time of peace, and of laying, as it were, England under contribution as often as they chose; if this question be put to me, I would first beg the querist to consider, for a moment, that the *means* of embarrassing us, and of laying us under contribution; namely, the funds, did not exist, in any degree at all, till the declining part of the reign of Louis the XIV. From that time to the French revolution, the kings of France never were in a situation that would permit them, during peace, to throw out occasional menaces against us, without having good reason to fear the consequences. A haughty tone to our ambassador; or, indeed, any act wearing a hostile aspect, would have been immediately resented by us; would either have produced war, or such humiliation on the part of the offender, as would have effectually prevented a second experiment of the sort. Let it be observed, moreover, that France herself had an immense funding system; and, that our funding system (which, observe, I regard as the means of laying us under contribution) had not, before the French Revolution, reached to one half of its present extent. Are not, I beg leave to ask, *all* the circumstances changed? Is not the change disadvantageous, in a fearful degree, to England? And, must not this disadvantage continue as long as Napoleon maintains his present degree of power relatively considered with that of England, she persevering, at the same time, in her present system of political economy? I may be mistaken, and, if I am, I should be glad to be put right: but, to me it appears to be a proposition quite indisputable, that, if there be one nation with a debt which annually absorbs nearly the whole of its permanent revenue, and if there be a foreign potentate who holds always in his hands with regard to that nation, the power of threatening to make war, without exposing himself to punishment for such threats, the ruin of such nation must depend entirely upon his will. If this be admitted, it will follow, of course, that we must, somehow or other, reduce the relative power of France, or, that we must make such a change in our funding system, as will render the use of that power less dangerous to us in time of peace.——This has been called *despending* language; and, to those who look upon the existence of the funding system as being absolutely necessary to the existence of the monarchy and of our constitution and laws, it must appear despending; but, to those who see the matter in a different light; to those who think with me, that, though the overthrow of the funding system would cause much confusion and misery, the country would soon recover the blow, while the monarchy and constitution would live and flourish; to such persons my language will not appear despending, but, on the contrary, will afford a glimpse, at least, of hope and encouragement to loyal and patriotic exertion.——When we are told, that there is no fear but we shall come triumphant out of this contest; when we are assured most positively, that we shall maintain both our national independence and our public credit unimpaired; we ought always to ask for the facts or the reasons, upon which this assurance rests; because, if it has neither to rest on, it is a mere empty sound, and can convey no consolation to any reflecting mind.——Those who comfort themselves with saying, "we have stood hitherto, in "spite of all the world," I would beg leave to remind, that, till now, great part of that world was always with us. For such a reflection to afford real comfort, England should be with respect to her principal enemy, in a situation *not worse* than the *worst* that she ever was in *before*. And, is this the case? When, since England was called England, was she beset as she now is? When was France before in possession of every sea port from the straights of Gibraltar to the Elbe? How many wars have we maintained, how many thousands of Englishmen have bled, for the purpose of preventing her from extending her sea coast to the north of Dunkirk? And, till within these few years, what English statesman ever supposed that we could, for any length of time, preserve our independence, if France obtained complete possession of Flanders and Holland? They always foresaw, in such case, what has now proved to be true; that, England never could, in peace or in war, enjoy a moment's

repose. Yet, they did not proceed upon the supposition of the existence either of a funding system such as ours now is, or of a system of warfare such as that which France has established against us. England being, therefore, in a situation very different from any that she ever was in before, it is pure folly to hope that she will now extricate herself, merely because she has always extricated herself heretofore.——To save us, then, I again and again repeat, that a change must be effected in our relative situation with regard to our enemy. The power of Napoleon must be diminished upon the continent; or, we must overcome his ally in this country; I mean the national debt, that debt which, before it received the augmentation of the last hundred millions, Mr. Pitt emphatically and justly denominated, "*the best ally of France.*" By subduing this best ally of our foe, we should greatly lessen that *luxury* and its inseparable companion *pauperism*, which now enfeeble us; we should be rendered less impatient of the inconveniencies, privations and hardships of war; less eager to catch at offers of peace. Always able to meet the enemy, and having none of that sort of property the value of which depends upon mere opinion, we should not only very soon learn to despise his threats, but we should be ready to take advantage of any of those troubles, which time, and, comparatively speaking, a short time, may give rise to, in his extended and heterogeneous dominions. Far from me be it to encourage the delusive hope of seeing Napoleon overthrown by internal commotion. He is surrounded by every barrier calculated to protect a throne. But, he is not immortal; nor will his successors be free from those dangers, to which all men in such situations have been exposed. A prospect so distant will, indeed, afford little or no consolation to those, who cry "give us "peace *in our day*;" but to those, with whom ease and comfort are nothing when compared to the permanent safety of their country, it is a great consolation, a solid foundation of hope. If any one can show me a better foundation, I shall gladly rest upon it; but, upon a subject so important, so nearly connected with all that is dear to us as loyal subjects and as lovers of our country, I must, beforehand, protest against all declamation; against all vague assurances, that the result of this contest will be such as we can look forward to without dread.

EAST-INDIES.——The recent intelligence from our colonies in India, the official papers respecting which shall be inserted in a subsequent sheet of the Register, is full of interest. Our victories in that part of the world have always presented themselves to me with a dubious aspect. In speaking of the battles, the glories of which were detailed to us last year, I expressed my apprehensions, that they would be followed by defeats. Not, because I pretended to possess any knowledge of the country, of the state of the forces there, or of the dispositions of the belligerent parties; but, because it seemed next to impossible, that, in time, we should not goad the natives into some degree of courage and of enterprize. I was, too, as I then said, afraid of the effects, which those India victories would produce in England;* nor is my fear, on that account, at all abated. Yet, when the hour of defeat comes, no one can help lamenting it: and, more especially when he considers, that it may tend greatly to encourage our foes, and to discourage our friends upon the continent of Europe.——The war with HOLKAR, as far as I can judge from the papers laid before parliament, appears to have been commenced without adequate grounds. HOLKAR is a prince claiming tribute of certain princes under him. We enter into treaties with those other princes, and we undertake to protect them against his future demands of tribute. We say, besides, that he is not the right heir to the throne that he occupies, and express our intentions of removing the usurper in order to make way for the right heir. But, this question, with which it would be very difficult to show that we had any thing to do, we suffer to remain unagitated for the present; and content ourselves with preventing him from levying his tribute upon our friends. He, however, persists; and, General Lake having written to Lord Wellesley, that it did not appear to him, that "without *annihilating* the power of this "chief, our own possessions, or those of "our allies, could ever be secure from his "depredations," Lord Wellesley immediately gave orders for the attack upon him. ——That Holkar's power will finally be annihilated is very probable; but, that we shall pay most dearly for the achievement there can be but very little doubt.——The reader will recollect, that a great object with parliament appears to have been to prevent these never-ceasing wars in India. "The "India Company," said Mr. Dundas exultingly, on the 23d of April 1793, "can "no longer make war to gratify the avarice "and ambition of their servants, because "their servants are *now* made responsible to

* See Vol. V. p. 501.

" their superiors, and these superiors are " made responsible to a British parliament;" yes, to that very British parliament, whom, on the 19th of June, 1804, Lord Castlereagh informed, " that the *ten years*, ending " in April, 1803, had been a period of " nearly *uninterrupted war*, or of *rebellions* " *little inferior to wars!!!*"——A discussion is, it seems, shortly to take place in the House of Commons relative to the affairs of India. On what points it may more particularly turn I do not know; but, in the mean-time, those who think India affairs worthy of attention, will excuse me for making a remark or two from materials furnished in a most useful pamphlet recently published under the title of " Observations " on Lord Castlereagh's Speech of the 19th " of July, 1804, and on the State of the " East-India Company's Affairs." This pamphlet, which is a convenient manual upon India affairs, and which is so little voluminous that the most indolent can scarcely want courage enough to go through it, is ascribed to Mr. Francis, who is almost the only member of parliament that has, for a long time past, thought it worth while to make the least inquiry into the debts or credits, the wars or treaties, of " our Empire in " the East." He complains, in his preface, of the difficulty of drawing the attention of parliament to the affairs of India, or even of obtaining an audience. At the two last India budgets, for 1803 and 1804, the committees of the whole House, he says, seldom exceeded twenty persons; and that, in the latter part of those debates, were gradually reduced to a much smaller number. The object overlooked, adds he, is a dominion, with all its dependencies, more considerable than the whole Mogul empire, as it was held by Aurengzebe.——All this is very true; lamentably true; but who cares for it? India is, in fact, regarded by people in general as nothing but a mere source of private fortunes. They do not seem to think that either their honour or their interest is at all concerned in the manner of managing it. When they see the golden nabob come and sit down amongst them, buying up, all around him, the farms, the manors, and the mansions of the impoverished, dwindled and decayed gentry, they look upon him as having extracted his riches from foreign mines; and, though they do surmise, and sometimes scruple not to say, that he has not always employed the fairest means of obtaining his wealth, they never appear to entertain the most distant idea, that this wealth has been extracted *from them*, and that India is merely the medium, through which he has drawn *their taxes* into his purse! " Oh, " India is a fine *fortune-making* country!" Every one who has a son to provide for, or to get rid of, packs him off to the golden empire. If he dies, no more is heard of him: if he lives, he comes home rich. No wonder, therefore, that our empire in the east is so great a favourite. If people could be taught to see, that the fortunes " brought " home," as it is vulgarly supposed, from India do, in reality come out of the taxes raised in England, they would certainly not be so completely indifferent to every thing that is said and done in parliament relative to India. And, though to teach them this would be an undertaking perfectly hopeless, it may not be quite useless to show them, to prove to them, to *make* them, by prevailing on them to read only a few columns of this Register, see, as clear as they can see the sun at noon day, that, if the promises of the India minister (Mr. Dundas) and the engagements of the East-India Company, whereunto it was bound by an act of parliament; it may not be quite useless to make the people see, that, if these promises and engagements had been fulfilled, the national exchequer would be *six millions* richer than it now is, and that, of course, we should have no occasion for any additional tax on salt, or on any thing else this year. This, therefore, is what I will, with the aid of Mr. Francis's pamphlet, now endeavour to do, prefacing what I have to say with a general proposition or two, which, though quite indisputable, may not be altogether unnecessary.——That all colonies, and those in the East-Indies of course, form part of the dominions of the mother-country: that His Majesty is the Sovereign of such dominions: that he, with the advice and consent of the parliament, has a right to pass laws for the government of such dominions, and for the regulation of the trade therewith. Now, as to the East-Indies in particular, without entering into the history of their first settlement, or of the regulations subsequently adopted relative to their internal government and their trade, it will be quite sufficient for every present purpose to state; that it had, previously to the year 1793, been thought advisable to confine the trade of India (with some exceptions not worth mentioning here) to an association of merchants, commonly called the East-India Company; that a charter was granted to this company of merchants, securing to them the profitable monopoly of the said trade; that, in the year 1793, this charter was about to expire; that Mr. Dundas, then president of what is called the Board of

Control for India Affairs, did, in 1793, negotiate with the said Company the terms, upon which their charter should be renewed, and, of course, upon which they should continue to enjoy the immense monopoly above-mentioned.—— But, before we come to state these terms, and to prove how they have been left unexecuted, it may not be improper to show, in a few words, the nature of a monopoly of this sort. To other colonies, to Jamaica for instance, any British subject may send his ship or ships. The island is open to every one. Its trade is an object of competition; and, so, one would naturally say, it ought to be, seeing that the fleets and armies, raised and maintained by the nation in general, are sent forth, when occasion requires, to defend and preserve it. Our fleets and armies are sent forth to defend and preserve India too; but, the trade of India is not left open to us all. A company of merchants have, by charter, obtained a monopoly of it.——That the king and parliament have a right to grant such a charter there can be no doubt; that it was wise to do it, in the present instance, some persons greatly doubt; but, it would seem no more than reasonable, that, in return for the great advantages attending such a monopoly, the parties should do something for the country, upon the same principle that the Company of the Bank of England makes an annual payment to the national Exchequer for its exclusive privilege, or monopoly. Upon this point we are not, however, called on to decide. The East-India Company *did* engage to do something in return for the charter and monopoly granted them. They engaged, indeed, to do many things; but, in order to keep to my promise, as to brevity, I will confine myself to one of their engagements, and that one, in which I think people in general are most deeply interested, or, at least that, the failure as to which will be the most easily made appear.—— The Company engaged, and the *act of parliament* provided, that a certain sum should annually be set apart for the purpose of reducing the debt of the Company (then estimated at 7 millions) to 2 millions; but, instead of that the debt has been swelled from 7 millions to 20 millions! This, however, is only mentioned as a specimen. I now come to the engagement on which alone I shall particularly dwell; that of paying into the King's Exchequer 500,000l. a year during the twenty years for which the charter and monopoly were granted; which 500,000l. a year were to be applied to national purposes; were to go in aid of the taxes, for the support of government. "This," says Mr. Francis, "was the only "compensation receivable by the public, "in return for the surrender of the gene"ral rights of the nation to participate in "the revenues and commerce of the Bri"tish empire in India; and certainly it "appears, on the face of the act, that "considerable pains were professedly ta"ken to secure it. If the funds, from "which this payment was to be made, "proved insufficient in any year, the de"ficiency became a debt to be made good "out of any surplus, which might remain "in any subsequent year. If the Com"pany failed to make such payment into "the Exchequer, the amount thereof, so "unpaid, 'should and might be recover"ed by action of debt, &c. with da"mages after the rate of 15 per cent. per "annum:' "and the said united Com"pany and their successors, and all their "stock and funds, and all their real and "personal property and estate, lands and "tenements, whatever and wherever, shall "be and are hereby made subject and "liable to the payment of the said monies "and damages, with full costs of suit." "It is then provided (in clause 121), in "favour and indulgence to the Company, "that if the making such half-yearly pay"ments *shall be attended with material in"convenience or embarrasment to the Com"pany's affairs*, the Directors are *required* "to represent the same to the Commis"sioners of the Treasury, who, by their "order, may thereupon *postpone or suspend* "*the payment, &c.* "provided always "that there be laid before both Houses of "Parliament, within fourteen days after "the making such order, if Parliament "shall be then sitting, or otherwise with"in the first fourteen sitting days of the "next session of Parliament, a copy of "the order and of the representation of "the Court of Directors, whereon the "same shall have been granted.' "And "finally, it is provided, that if, by any "extraordinary expenses of war, &c. the "the nett proceeds shall fall short of ma"king payment of 500,000l. a year, for "the use of the public, the deficiency "'shall be *deemed* as a debt to be made "good to the public upon the determina"tion of the Company's exclusive trade, "if they have assets sufficient after pay"ment of their just debts, and after ma"king good to the Company the value of "their capital stock. With all these pre"cautions, and *with funds, which are as-*

" *sumed by the Legislature as equal not only* " *to this but to other appropriations, which* " *have not yet been mentioned,* the burden " of the proof of inability lies on the Di " rectors, who *after the first year have made* " *no payment on this account, who have* " *made no representation to the Lords of the* " *Treasury, or, if they have, neither their* " *representation nor the order of the Treasury,* " *thereupon, has been laid before both Houses of* " *Parliament.*"——Thus, then, this engagement has not been kept. Instead of twelve times five hundred thousand pounds (it being twelve years since the law was passed); instead of 6 millions sterling, the nation has received from the Company only 500,000l. only one-twelfth part of what it ought to have received!—— Now, how comes it that this engagement has not been fulfilled? How comes it, that this important provision of a most important act of parliament has not been obeyed? We have been told, year after year, that India, and the affairs of the India Company, are in the most prosperous situation. That the Company has funds sufficient, and more than sufficient, for every purpose for which their funds are required. No representation of inability to make good the engagement has been made, as the act in such case directs, to the Lords of the Treasury, or, as Mr. Francis says, if such representation has been made, neither such representation, nor the order thereon made by the said Lords, has been, as the act directs, laid before both Houses of Parliament. But, what do the ministers, and particularly the minister for the affairs of India; what does Lord Castlereagh say upon the subject? What excuse does he make? This we must now hear; for, to his statement upon this subject it is, that Mr. Francis's pamphlet is principally intended as a reply. His lordship's speech, now about to be quoted, was delivered, in the House of Commons, on the 19th of July last. It was soon afterwards published in a pamphlet, under his own inspection, and it will be found correctly inserted from the pamphlet report, in the Parliamentary Debates, Vol. II. p. 1151.——In this speech, his lordship sets out with saying, " that he " is the more desirous of putting parliament in possession of correct information relative to the finances of India, " from the perseverance with which gentlemen on the other side of the house, " have asserted, year after year, that all the " estimates, from time to time laid before " parliament, and all the predictions of his " noble friend (Lord Melville) and himself had been completely falsified by the " event. They have not," continued he, " certainly charged either with wilful or " deliberate misrepresentation; but they " impute to us the having relied for our " conclusions upon estimates, formed upon " a confined and inadequate view of the " probable expenditure for the preceding " year; and that, under the deception of " our over-sanguine feelings, we have given " to parliament and to the public positive assurances of results that have never taken " place." How many words a man may employ to express what would be much more correctly and more intelligibly expressed by one or two! As to the *thoughts* of the gentlemen on the other side of the House, Lord Castlereagh had, perhaps, some means of coming at them: but, as far as my observations have gone, those gentlemen never have *said*, that the fallacy of the statements in question proceeded from the " *over-sanguine* feelings" of either of the two persons, in whose hands the affairs of India have so long been. They did not, as the India financier truly asserts, " *charge* " either with wilful or deliberate misrepre- " sentation;" nor did they ever say a word to *the contrary*. They said nothing about *motive*: they spoke of the actions; and, as to the motive, very properly, left the House and the public to draw the inference for themselves. " Year after year," said they, " these presidents of the board of " control have made a grand display of " the prosperity of the affairs of the East- " India Company; year after year have " they boasted of the increasing resources " of that Company; and, yet, though in " non fulfilment of an engagement with " the nation, which engagement was gua- " ranteed by an act of parliament, the East- " India Company has paid but 500,000l. " instead of 6 millions of pounds, which, " since the year 1793, it ought to have " paid into the King's Exchequer, in aid " of the taxes raised upon the people." This, in substance, is what has been said over and over again, " by the gentlemen " on the other side of the House," as Lord Castlereagh calls it; particularly has it been said by Mr. Francis and Mr. Johnstone; but, never, that I have observed, did either of those gentlemen say a single word in justification of the motives, from which the presidents of the board of control had acted.——Having placed this point (which is by no means immaterial) in a fair light, let us now hear what Lord Castlereagh has, in the before-mentioned speech; advanced and published by way of reply to the complaint

of the gentlemen on the other side of the House, as his lordship so happily, and with so much dignity, describes them. "The "charge," says he, speaking of the complaint relative to the non-payment of the annual half million; "The charge is, that "a positive assurance was given by my noble "friend to the public, in the year 1793, of "the participation of 500,000l. being re- "gularly paid, and that his lordship" (then Mr. Dundas) "had often declared, the "finances of the *empire*" (meaning the mother country, which it will be better for us to designate it by the single word *England*) "would *derive aid from the resources of* "*India*, before India became a charge to "the mother country."——This Mr. Dundas did promise the parliament and the nation over and over again. How the promise has been fulfilled we shall see by-and-by, after we have heard out Lord Castlereagh, who continues thus: "As to this "charge, I have only to *meet the assertions* "of gentlemen, who state, that these as- "surances were given *absolutely and with-* "*out qualification*, by asserting, that they "*never were so given*; referring, for the "truth of my denial, to the recorded sen- "timents of my noble friend, as published "at the time. They were, no doubt, "made absolutely, with reference to a *state* "*of peace*; but, so far from being equally "applied to a *state of war*, parliament was "*distinctly apprised* by my noble friend, at "the time, that war, in proportion to the "extent of its operation, and more parti- "cularly war on the continent of India, "must *wholly* alter the calculations then "made. A hope was entertained by my "noble friend, at the commencement of the "late war, that in the then crippled state "of the enemy, our expense abroad might "not be such, as to disturb materially our "financial prospects; but he pointedly "guarded himself against causes of ex- "pense, distinct from the probable direct "efforts of France in India. Since that "time, we have had two Indian wars, one "with Tippoo, the other with the Mahrattas. "We have had rebellions, little inferior to "wars, in the expenditure connected with "their suppression: and we have, in that time, "fitted out from India various expeditions, "and prominently that to Egypt, not imme- "diately connected with the Company's ser- "vice, the charges of which, with interest "since accrued (in whatever proportion they "may ultimately fall on the public or on the "Company), stand recorded in the accounts "to the amount of about 7,000,000l. Could "my noble friend's statements, even had "they been unaccompanied by the express "qualifications which made a part of them "at the time, be in fairness considered as "applying to such a state of things as I have "described? Or is it wonderful, under *such* "*an accumulation of expense, incurred not* "*merely on account of the Company but of the* "*public*, that the result, which my noble "friend was justified in opening to parlia- "ment in the year 1793, should stand sus- "pended, in whatever degree those causes "have continued to operate? This house "will recollect, when my noble friend stated "his conviction, that the empire was likely "to derive aid from India, before the de- "fence of India would become chargeable "upon the mother country; that this state- "ment was made to meet the then gloomy "predictions of gents. on the other side of "the house, who asserted, such was the de- "plorable state of the Company's finances, "*that the empire must soon be drained at home,* "*for the defence of our possessions in India.* "The truth of these predictions has been "now *pretty fairly tried*, by ten years of the "most expensive war, during which time "India (an important *exception to all our other* "*foreign dependencies*) has sustained its own "expense, and is, at the present day, *more* "*equal than ever* to continue so to do."—— Here, then, are pointed out to us four distinct objects of inquiry: First, whether Mr. Dundas did, in giving his assurances, make those exceptions and qualifications, of which his successor has now thought proper to speak, and to which he has *talked* of referring, but to which he has not referred. To cover all failures, says Mr. Francis (whose words I shall now nearly copy as far as they relate to this first point), one general argument is resorted to, and is supposed to be sufficient to silence all objections, namely, the *wars in India*. Lord Castlereagh affirms "that the assurances given by Lord "Melville, were not given absolutely and "without qualification; that they were *no* "*doubt* made absolutely with reference to a "state of peace, and that parliament was "*distinctly apprized* by his noble friend *at* "*the time*, that war, and more particularly "war on the continent of India, must *whol-* "*ly* alter the calculations then made. Since "that time we have had two Indian wars, "one with Tippoo, the other with the "Mahrattas. We have had rebellions lit- "tle inferior to wars in the expenditure "connected with their suppression, &c.; "and, therefore, he calls the whole ten years "a period of *nearly uninterrupted war.*"—It would have been desirable that Lord Castlereagh had *specified* the time when, and the

precise terms in which Lord Melville made those previous declarations, by which parliament is supposed to have been *distinctly apprised* that the case of war must *wholly alter his calculations*. In common parlance, the words *no doubt* imply some degree of uncertainty, and are never used when specific evidence can be produced in support of a specific assertion. In the course of that very time, which is called a period of *nearly uninterrupted war*, we have his own annual declarations in print, *affirming the exact contrary*, repeated from year to year, and rising in vehemence of assertion in every successive year, until he resigned in June 1801. To clear up this question, we shall do what Lord Castlereagh has omitted; that is, we shall once more state the *time*, the *place*, and Lord Melville's own words on the subject. ——In the first place, we state and affirm, that every provision and appropriation of the annual surplus of revenue in India, made by the Act of 1793, is equivalent to *a personal engagement*, on the part of Lord Melville, (who brought in the bill) that such surplus was to be depended on. That fundamental promise was preceded and followed by many oral and written declarations.—— On the 24th of May 1791, Lord Melville declared to the House of Commons, "I am "not disposed to undervalue the resources "of *this* country; but, notwithstanding any "inauspicious aspect the present affairs of "India may be supposed to bear, I am still "*sanguine* enough to hope that the day is "much nearer, when the resources of India "*will administer aid to the revenues of this* "*country*, than that, on which we are to ap"prehend that India will call for aid from "the finances of Great Britain."——5th June 1792.—"To save any gentleman the "trouble of putting the question to me, "whether I adhere to the hopes I gave last "year, that the day is much nearer when "the resources of India will administer aid "to the revenues of this country, than that "on which we are to apprehend India will "call for aid from the finances of Great Bri"tain; I anticipate the question, and an"swer in the affirmative; and the only dif"ference is, that I am *more sanguine* in those "hopes than I was when I first asserted "them."——In 1794, he reported to the House on the pecuniary arrangements of 1793, and said, "I have the satisfaction to "reflect, that every statement, which has "since been brought under consideration, "has *justified the expectations* I entertained "from the measures I then recommended "to the adoption of parliament."——On the 4th of April 1794, he informed the House of Commons "that all the posses"sions (the distant islands excepted) be"longing to the only European power "in India, from whom we could have "any apprehensions of danger, had been "captured; that the alliance between Tip"poo Sultan and the French was dissolved; "and that the effectual check, which Lord "Cornwallis had given to the Mysorean "power, had been followed by the *total* "*annihilation* of that of the French on the "continent of India."——On the 16th of June, 1795, he asserted, "that, as in the "revenues, so in the sales at home, his es"timates had been greatly exceeded; that, "if he looked to India, he saw *no circum*"*stance* that did not lead to confidence in "the increasing prosperity of the country. "*In time of war*, and when the markets of "a great part of Europe were shut against "the Company, their sales were *greater than* "*they ever were before*."——20th of June, 1796, he said: "I have it still in my power "to assert, that the appearance of the af"fairs of the East-India Company, both at "home and abroad, is *most favourable*. "The predictions, I then ventured to make, "have been all fully justified by the events; "and the sanguine hopes, I long professed "to entertain, have been *all completely* "*realized*."——On the 20th of December, 1796, he said: "that every hope which "he had formerly suggested had now been "fully confirmed, and that even his *most* "*sanguine* representations had *not exceeded* "*the truth*. That the war, which agitated "Europe, did not reach the Company's "possessions, nor was it likely to do so "with any bad effect. That he was con"fident in asserting, the state of the Com"pany's affairs in India was in an increasing "progression of prosperity, and that there "was every prospect of the prosperity be"ing yet very considerably augmented; the "*only* question was, how far that point of "*prosperity* might be extended."——On the 14th of July, 1797, he said: "the prospe"rity of the East-India Company has been "*increasing* from the period when the ope"ration of the present system was brought "into full effect; and the amelioration of "their affairs, *notwithstanding the war with* "*Tippoo Sultan*, between that period and "the present, amounts to no less than "11,000,000l. sterling, computing merely "on the increase of assets, and the decrease "of debts, without taking into the account "the enhanced value of the revenues of "India, and the improved state of the com"merce.——Under *every contingency*, the "affairs of the Company have been in a

" state of improvement. The prospects " now held out are fully warranted."—— On the 12th of March, 1799, he said: " I " am entitled to make that conclusion from " the *immense improvement* in the Compa- " ny's affairs since it has been under its " present management. *Notwithstanding* " *the expensive wars* in which we have " been engaged, &c.; *notwithstanding* the " interruption, which commerce must *al-* " *ways*, more or less, experience in a state " of *warfare*; yet have the affairs of India " gone on, from year to year, in a state of " *progressive improvement*, without their pros- " perity having stagnated *for a single mo-* " *ment.*"——On the 25th of March, 1800: " the estimate of the year 1793 was formed " on the most accurate calculations pre- " scribed by the experience of past years. " That the prospects might not be over- " rated, the resources, though evidently in " *a state of improvement*, were taken on a " moderate scale. This is proved by the " issue. Their produce has *more than justi-* " *fied the expectations*; and, although fluctua- " tions on so immense a revenue must na- " turally be expected, the estimate has been " *exceeded* in no less a sum than 1,000,000l. " sterling on the average."——Having gone through the whole of the figures, he said he had no doubt on his mind, but that the committee would be convinced, as he was, from the results of the whole, that the affairs of the Company were in a most flourishing and prosperous situation!——On the 23d of July, 1800, he said: " In the year 1797, I pre- " sented to the committee a most flattering " view of the surprising improvement " brought about in the course of ten years. " The reduction of debts, and the increase " of assets, were to an amount exceeding " 11,100,000l. under the pressure and va- " rious contingencies of war. But I have " carried the comparison three years far- " ther, which will take in a great part of " the *immense expenditure* of the late war " with Mysore; and find that the improve- " ment during the *thirteen* years on the " same principle is 11,880,000l. If it be " inquired, what is the state of the concern " between 1796-7, and the date of the pre- " sent accounts, in which period the ex- " traordinary pressure has been mostly felt, " it is satisfactory to discover that, without " any aid from increase of capital, the im- " provement has still been 747,000l."—— On the 30th of June, 1801, he said: " the " most sanguine hopes may be indulged " from the present general aspect of the " Company's affairs. It is with the most " heartfelt satisfaction my mind contem- " plates the *amazing* change in our political " relations in the East, at the present time, " *compared with what they were in* 1784. " Let it suffice to say, that, by a happy " combination of efforts, both at home and " abroad, effects have been produced *which* " *could scarcely have entered the minds of the* " *most sanguine!*"——Now, the reader will keep in mind, that this was the language of Mr. Dundas, year after year, while the East-India Company was *augmenting* its debt from seven millions towards the twenty millions which that debt has now arrived at, instead of sinking, as it was expected to do, down to two millions; and while the Company was paying, after the first year not one farthing into the King's Exchequer, instead of paying thereinto half a million every year, according to the engagement, the performance of which engagement was so strictly enjoined by an act of parliament! Yet, after all this, comes my Lord Castlereagh, and positively asserts, that his predecessor never calculated upon the ability of the Company to make the said payment, in case of wars in India! When it was during the time of such wars, that Mr. Dundas, from year to year asserted, that the affairs of the Company *continued to grow more and more prosperous!* The declaration last quoted was the last that parliament heard of Mr. Dundas, in his capacity of India minister. The last words the parliament heard from him, on the subject of India were, that " by a happy " combination of efforts both at home and " abroad, effects had been produced, which " could scarcely have entered the minds of " the most sanguine." And, yet we are now told about the inability produced by wars; and, we have the mortification to know, that out of six millions of money, due from the Company to the public for the charter and monopoly, only the half of one million ever has been paid!——But, SECONDLY, suppose that, contrary to all the calculations, assertions, and promises that we have just seen, there did arise, either from wars, or from any other cause, *an inability* to pay the annual half million to the nation. Supposing this to be the real truth, where are the documents to satisfy the parliament and the people? Where is the evidence, required by the act? When were parliament informed of any application having been made to the Lords of the Treasury for a postponement of these payments? And, where is the order, made by those lords for such postponement, which order was to be laid before the parliament? Mr. Francis positively asserts, that no such papers have ever been laid before parliament; and yet

we know, that the money has not been paid? Where, then, was the authority to dispense with the payment, and to dispense also with the production of these vouchers, positively required by the act? Can the India minister, or can any minister, possess an authority like this? Surely not, for it is nothing short of an authority independent of the parliament to suspend, or dispense with altogether, the observance of an act of parliament!——THIRDLY; in the preceding observations, it has been taken for granted, that the East-India Company has, ever since the renewal of the charter, been engaged in expensive wars; and, it has been shown, that according to Mr. Dundas's statements, even that supposition would not go a step towards excusing the failure to pay the half million a year into the King's Exchequer. But, the *fact* itself is not founded in truth. 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" with *a halter round her neck, and tied to a* " *post*, whence she was purchased for 6d. by " a *Mulatto*, the long drummer belonging " to the band of the 4th regiment, lately in " barracks at that place."——And yet we go three thousand miles distance to see for objects of legislative compassion! Do we make an outcry against the slave trade; do we make annual calls upon the parliament to put an end to that trade; are there men who broadly hint that the House of Lords is useless because it refuses to listen to such calls; and are we, all the while, really without a law to punish abominations, such as that above recorded?

COUNTRY BANK NOTES.——The following paragraph has appeared in most, if not all, the London papers, and, from its situation in those papers, its insertion has evidently been paid for. " Tuesday last" (I quote from the Morning Chronicle of the 15th instant) " a respectable meeting of the " merchants and traders of the city of Exe- " ter was held at the Guildhall, to *consider* " *on the proper mode of checking the present* " *enormous circulation of small local notes* " *payable only at the places where they are is-* " *sued.*"——Several resolutions were entered into *against them.* In the mean time, " several clergymen and landholders in that " neighbourhood have given notice to their " parishioners and tenants, that they will re- " ceive no such notes in payment, for rent or " tythes, at the ensuing collection at Lady " Day, which will no doubt operate most " powerfully to check this *alarming evil.* " The merchants, &c. of Plymouth, have " entered into resolutions similar to those " adopted in Exeter; and *we hear* that " many other cities and towns in this king- " dom *are preparing* to follow so *laudable* " an example." What! Enter into combinations, and hold public meetings and pass resolutions against Bank Notes! And are all the Treasury writers silent? Is there no one to cry out; no one that has zeal and impudence enough to accuse these gentlemen of Exeter of " decrying the resources of their " country;" of exciting " doubts in the " minds of the people;" of holding out " encouragement to our implacable enemy?" For the honour of Downing Street and Whitehall, let us hope that this unaccountable silence will not be of long duration!—But, I should, however, like to know, on what grounds it is, that the *local notes*, as they are called, are regarded as an " alarm- " ing evil" *any more than other notes.* I do not say that there are *not* particular objections against them; but, I really should like to hear those objections stated in a plain manner, by some person who can speak from experience and observation. Because, to me it does not appear that notes confined to one place can, from that circumstance merely, produce any bad effect. If such notes were entirely driven from circulation, there would be instantly made, others of a more extended range, to supply their place; and, if all country bank notes were driven out of circulation, their place must be filled up by notes of the Bank of England; for, let the gentlemen of Exeter be well assured, that the total quantity of paper now in circulation, can *never be diminished*, without destroying the whole. They see new banks starting up. They perceive, as well from the daily increasing quantity of the paper as from the revolution in prices and in every one's private affairs, that there is great danger; that every thing is fast overturning; that we are rapidly approaching towards a crisis. All this they see; but, I do not think they look far enough for the *cause.*

IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.——The delegates of the Irish Catholics made three distinct propositions to Mr. Pitt;—1st, That he should present their petition, and propose their immediate emancipation—2d, That he should present their petition, and propose the adoption of a resolution, the purport of which should be to recognise the justice of their claims, and to express a disposition to comply with those claims when circumstances should render such compliance expedient.—3d, That he should present their petition, and let it lie upon the table.—He objected to them all; and, thereupon, the delegates applied to Lord Grenville, Mr. Fox, and other gentlemen of great political consequence. The petition is now to be presented, agreeably to notices given, by Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox.——Mr. Pitt's former declaration to parliament, an extract from which will be found as the motto to this sheet, will be found at full length, in Vol. IV. p. 840.

THE TENTH REPORT has, at last, been printed. The next Register will convey it to all those who have been unable to obtain a copy of it sooner. It is of vast importance, and should be read by every one in the kingdom, through the whole of which there is not an honest man who will not applaud the integrity and resolution of the Commissioners and of the noble Lord, who proposed their appointment.—Lord Melville's partisan writers say, that he is extremely anxious for a parliamentary discussion upon the subject; and, therefore, they must be highly delighted, that he is *so soon to be gratified.*

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.